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SPEECH

ONE

HON. WM. BARKSDALE,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

ON THE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

25-10

DELIVERED IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 23, 1856.

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WASHINGTON:  
1856.

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## SPEECH.

To the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, I propose to speak of the approaching Presidential election, on which I believe, more than on any former election, depends the fate of the Union, the hopes of our country, and Mr. Chairman, the hopes of constitutional liberty, as involved in the success of this our experiment in representative government. In past Presidential contests, parties have been divided upon questions, not affecting alike the interests of every section of the Union, it is true, but national in their character, and all felt that the triumph of the one did not necessarily involve the degradation or dishonor of the other. Now, however, an issue plainly local and sectional in its character has been boldly and defiantly forced upon the country. The coming conflict, then, sir, will be for the Constitution, for State-rights, and for everything, in fact, which is dear and sacred to one half of the confederacy.

Without attempting a discussion of the details of the different parties, I shall confine my remarks to the three principal ones, which are now seeking the confidence of the people and the control of the government—the Know-nothing, Black Republican, and Democratic parties. The Know-nothing party is of but recent origin. It came upon the country at the hour of midnight, and has concealed its purposes from public scrutiny and investigation. In its beginning it had, and, so far as we are informed, it now has, its signs, grips, pass-words, oaths, and all the paraphernalia of a secret organization. These cabalistic characters may be useful in institutions purely social and benevolent, but in political organizations they must ever wield an influence for evil. A representative cannot suffer himself to be trammelled by them. He challenges the closest scrutiny into his political principles and conduct. In speaking of these parties, and the candidates under whose names they severally rally, I shall resort to facts and figures in the history of the country. I have already remarked that the designs of the Know-nothings were at first kept hid from public view, but time developed that they sought to extend or repeal the naturalization laws, to exclude foreigners and Roman Catholics from office. Frustrated in these topics are for thought and reflection, it is not my purpose, at length, to discuss them. The following is the oath administered to the initiates in many portions of Mississippi:

You do solemnly and unreservedly swear, without hesitation, evasion, or delay, never to divulge any sign, password, or grip that you may receive, or expose, any paper or papers of this order that may come into your possession.

the name of any person you may see here; and, furthermore, that you will never vote for any person but native-born citizens to all offices of honor, trust, or profit, to the exclusion of all aliens, foreigners, and Roman Catholics in particular; and, should you prove untrustworthy, you will submit to have your name published in all the different societies throughout the several States in the Union as one not worthy to be trusted, either in business or office: all this you swear, in the presence of God and on the flag of your country."

It will be observed that they were required to take this obligation, under a terrible penalty to vote for none but native-born citizens for all offices of honor, trust, or profit, to the exclusion of foreigners and Roman Catholics. In excluding foreigners and Roman Catholics from office, then, they are violating the spirit and genius of our institutions, and disregarding the most sacred guaranties of the constitution.

But what has been the practical effect of this organization upon the country during the short period of its existence? The following table will show that it elected to this House ninety members, eighty-four of whom voted for Mr. BANKS for Speaker, and are now, with one or two exceptions, zealously co-operating with the Black Republican party; and that all the governors and senators elected by it in the northern States are enlisted under the banner of Fremont and Dayton.

Mr. VALK. The gentleman from Mississippi says that a certain number of individuals were elected to this House as Americans by the abolitionists. I wish to say, they were elected as Americans, by American votes, and expected to carry out American principles; if, after getting here, they have repudiated those principles, the American party is not to blame for it.

Mr. BARKSDALE. They were abolitionists before they joined the Know-nothing party; and they have been true to their abolitionism, as the record they have made for themselves here clearly proves. Here are the tables:

States.	Bona-fide Know-nothings sent from the North.	Those who voted for Banks, if not all the time, at some one time.	
Maine .....	3	3	
New Hampshire ..	3	3	Entire delegation Know-nothing.
Vermont .....	1	1	
Massachusetts ....	11	11	Entire delegation Know-nothing.
Rhode Island ....	2	2	Do. do.
Connecticut .....	4	4	Do. do.
New York .....	17	13	
New Jersey .....	4	4	All the Anti-Nebraskaites Know-nothings.
Pennsylvania ....	18	11	
Ohio .....	15	15	
Indiana .....	6	6	
Illinois .....	2	2	
Michigan .....	3	3	All the Anti-Nebraskaites Know-nothings.
Iowa .....	1	1	All the Anti-Nebraskaites Know-nothings.

Number of Know-nothings elected from the North..... 90  
 Number of those who voted for Banks at some one time..... 84

No Northern Know-nothing voted for a national man on the last ballot, which was the crisis.

GOVERNORS. (*All for Fremont and Dayton at this time.*)

Maine .....	Elected Anson P. Morrill, abolitionist, in place of A. K. Parris, National Democrat.
New Hampshire.....	Elected Ralph Metcalfe, abolitionist, in place of N. B. Baker, National Democrat.
Massachusetts .....	Elected Henry G. Gardner, abolitionist.
Rhode Island .....	Elected William W. Hoppin, abolitionist.
Connecticut .....	Elected William T. Minor, abolitionist.
Ohio .....	Aided in electing Salmon P. Chase, abolitionist, in place of William Medill, National Democrat.
Iowa .....	Aided in electing J. W. Grimes, abolitionist.
Wisconsin .....	Aided in electing C. Bashford, in place of — Barstow, National Democrat.
Michigan.....	Aided in electing Kinsley S. Bingham, abolitionist, in place of — Barry, National Democrat.
Pennsylvania .....	Aided in electing James Pollock, abolitionist, in place of William Bigler, National Democrat.

SENATORS ELECTED. (*All for Fremont and Dayton at this time.*)

Maine .....	Aided in sending Wm. P. Feasenden, abolitionist, to succeed James W. Bradbury, National Democrat.
New Hampshire.....	Sent John P. Hale and James Bell, abolitionists, to succeed John S. Wells and Jared W. Williams, National Democrats
Massachusetts .....	Sent Henry Wilson, abolitionist, to succeed Edward Everett, National Whig.
Connecticut .....	Sent Lafayette G. Foster for the long term, and Francis Gillette for the short term, the former to succeed the latter, both abolitionists.
New York.....	Aided in re-electing William H. Seward, abolitionist.
Ohio .....	Aided in re-electing Benjamin F. Wade, abolitionist.
Iowa .....	Aided in sending James Harlan, abolitionist, in place of Augustus C. Dodge, National Democrat.
Wisconsin.....	Sent Charles Durkee, an abolitionist.
Illinois.....	Aided in sending Lyman Trumbull, abolitionist, in place of James Shields, National Democrat.

Sir, these statistics speak in a voice of solemn and eloquent warning to the South. The true men of the North, the men whose patriotism is broad enough to embrace the Union—the whole Union—who have heretofore stood in the front of the battle in upholding the Constitution, vindicating the laws and sustaining the rights of every section of the confederacy, have nearly all been remorselessly stricken down, and disorganizing, agitating Abolitionists are now filling their places. And, sir, in this House, how have they wielded their ill-gotten power? The present Congress commenced under extraordinary circumstances, and extraordinary events have marked its history. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, who was the first upon this floor in the last Congress to avow himself a member of this secret Know-nothing organization, and the first to attempt its vindication, was elected Speaker after a nine weeks' struggle, by purely a sectional vote.

Here is his avowal:

“Mr. LETCHER. Now, let me try the gentleman from Massachusetts. Does he belong to the organization called Know-nothing, that has been the subject of comment by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. RUFFIN] to-night?”

"Mr. BANKS. I belong to an organization—not that I know that it is called by the name of Know-nothing—but that answers the description that is generally understood by that name in my own town. Nobody has asked me the question before. I have never declined to answer it, and nobody has 'fereewed me up to it.'"

The table above shows that eighty-four of those who were elected as Know-nothings from the northern States voted for Mr. BANKS for Speaker; and therecord proves that if upon the last ballot the Know-nothing members of the House, Messrs. BROOM, BAYARD CLARK, CULLEN, HENRY WINTER DAVIS, MILLWOOD, and WHITNEY, who now follow the fortunes of Mr. Fillmore, and who the day before had voted for Governor AIKEN, had adhered to him, he would have been elected. Governor AIKEN received one hundred votes, nineteen of the twenty-one northern Democrats voting for him; Mr. BANKS one hundred and three. Four of the six gentlemen whose names I have mentioned could have defeated the election of Mr. BANKS. These gentlemen had refused to vote for either Mr. RICHARDSON or Mr. ORR, because they were the nominees of the Democratic party, but no such excuse could avail them for refusing to vote for Governor AIKEN: for though a Democrat, acting throughout the struggle with the Democratic members, he was, nevertheless, not their nominee. His name was suggested by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. COBB,) I venture to say, upon his individual responsibility. Thus, sir, having, the power to elect a Speaker who had ever been loyal to the Union, and true to the Constitution, these gentlemen of the Know-nothing party, which now claims to be national, refused to exercise it, and a Black Republican now presides over the deliberations of this House. They are responsible for his election, because they could have defeated it.

In the organization of the committees, the South has been most signally ostracised. Every committee connected, directly or indirectly, with slavery, has been so constituted as to be made available in carrying out the nefarious schemes of the Black Republican party. The House has been organized according to sectional prejudices, by the Speaker, in the arbitrary exercise of his power of appointment.

Messrs. BROOKS and KEITT, of South Carolina, whose chivalrous bearing, and high order of talents and attainments, had secured them positions second to none upon this floor—the one for inflicting merited chastisement upon CHARLES SUMNER, a Senator from Massachusetts, who had published to the world an infamous libel upon his State, and slandered his venerable and absent relative; and the other for not dishonoring himself by becoming an informer—have been forced to resign their seats; and thus, not only has the insult to a sovereign State of this Union been endorsed, but the State disfranchised, so far as this House has the power to do it.

In violation of all law and precedent, when the returns of the election, certified to by the officers regularly appointed to supervise its conduct, incontestably established his election—when he had been duly commissioned by the governor of the State, JAMES C. ALLEN, of Illinois, a bold and fearless National Democrat, has been driven from his seat by the Black Republican majority on this floor. Sir, in my judg-

ment, this act was perpetrated for no other than the accomplishment of a party purpose. There is already a vacancy in one district, and if the Black Republicans should succeed in that and in ALLEN's, and the Presidential election should be thrown into the House of Representatives, the State of Illinois would be secured for Fremont. Here is the motive which led to the consummation of this outrage; to accomplish which, the rules of evidence, all law and parliamentary precedent, have been recklessly and wantonly disregarded.

A bill to admit Kansas into the Union as a State, under the Topeka constitution, a constitution formed by a mere party in the Territory, composed chiefly of plundering adventurous traitors, acting in open defiance of the laws of the Territory and the authority of the federal government, has been passed by this House. Nine of the States of the Union were admitted by acts of Congress granting them permission to form State constitutions—four upon the application of the Territorial legislatures; and even in the case of California, as irregular as was her admission, her application was approved by the President, and understood to have had the sanction of a majority of the people who were then in the Territory. In the history of the country, there is no parallel to the outrage which has been perpetrated by the passage of this Kansas bill. It stands alone, a monument to the infamy of those who passed it.

The threat is now being boldly made, that the appropriation bills shall be defeated if Kansas is not admitted as a free State, or the Missouri restriction reinstated, and thus a revolution will be inaugurated by the majority in this House. Sir, I know that gentlemen on the other side have the power to defeat the appropriation bills, and let them do it if they dare.

The Know-nothing party had swept over the whole North, bearing everything with the might of an avalanche before it; but it had been met upon the soil of the Old Dominion by the Democracy, under the lead of the gallant Wise, and had been routed and driven from the field. That noble old State was true to the teachings of civil and religious liberty of her immortal statesmen, and drove back the minions of this, until then, "invisible invincible" organization.

The elections were to take place in the southern States. Know-nothingism had accomplished its purposes at the North, as I have already endeavored to show; and it was deemed necessary that a platform should be agreed upon, in order that the South should be fastened to its triumphal car. Under these circumstances, the grand council met in the city of Philadelphia. Its members were oath bound, and held their sessions with closed doors. It was composed of Southern slaveholders and rank Northern abolitionists, and for days they wrangled upon the subject of slavery. Finally, however, they adopted the majority report, including the 12th section, when a majority of the Northern men bolted. It was adopted by a mere majority of the members, without regard to the vote in the electoral college. A majority of the States did not vote for it, nor a majority of electoral votes, as the following table exhibits:

	Electoral votes to which she is entitled.	Vote on majority report, including 12th section.			Electoral votes to which she is entitled.	Vote on majority report, including 12th section.	
		Yeas.	Nays.			Yeas.	Nays.
Maryland .....	8	7	.....	Michigan .....	6	.....	1
Virginia .....	15	7	.....	Wisconsin .....	5	.....	3
North Carolina .....	10	6	.....	Maine .....	3	.....	7
South Carolina .....	8	4	.....	New Hampshire .....	5	.....	2
Georgia .....	10	7	.....	Massachusetts .....	13	.....	5
Florida .....	3	4	.....	Connecticut .....	6	.....	3
Mississippi .....	7	4	.....	Vermont .....	5	.....	5
Alabama .....	9	4	.....	Rhode Island .....	4	.....	1
Louisiana .....	6	2	.....	New Jersey .....	7	.....	7
California .....	4	4	.....	Pennsylvania .....	25	2	5
Arkansas .....	4	3	.....	Illinois .....	11	.....	5
Tennessee .....	12	6	.....	Iowa .....	4	.....	2
Kentucky .....	12	.....	.....	Delaware .....	3	1	3
Texas .....	4	2	.....	District of Columbia .....	.....	1	.....
New York .....	35	4	2	Minnesota .....	.....	1	.....
Ohio .....	23	.....	7				
Indiana .....	13	.....	4			69	62

Florida, on that vote, entitled though to but 3 electoral votes, cast 4 votes; whilst New York only cast 6, and Pennsylvania only 7. Thus the little State of Florida exercised two-thirds as much influence in the vote on the 12th section as the State of New York, which is entitled to 35 electoral votes, or as the State of Pennsylvania, having 27 electoral votes. Delaware, like Florida, cast 4 votes—1 more than her electoral vote, and of like proportion to that of New York and Pennsylvania as Florida. The District of Columbia and the Territory of Minnesota, each having no electoral vote, cast one vote in determining that question, which was equally as much as the State of Michigan, having 6 electoral votes, or the State of Wisconsin, having 5.

Vote on the minority report, including a resolution that the repeal of the Missouri compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the nation, and that it should be restored; and if efforts to that end should fail, Congress should refuse to admit any State tolerating slavery which shall be formed out of any portion of the territory from which that institution was excluded by that compromise.

	Yeas.	Nays.		Yeas.	Nays.
Delaware .....	.....	5	Michigan .....	1	.....
Maryland .....	.....	7	Wisconsin .....	3	.....
Virginia .....	.....	7	Texas .....	.....	2
North Carolina .....	.....	6	District of Columbia .....	.....	1
South Carolina .....	.....	4	Maine .....	7	.....
Georgia .....	.....	7	New Hampshire .....	2	.....
Florida .....	.....	4	Massachusetts .....	6	.....
Mississippi .....	.....	4	Connecticut .....	3	.....
Alabama .....	.....	4	Vermont .....	5	.....
Louisiana .....	.....	2	Rhode Island .....	1	.....
California .....	.....	4	New York .....	.....	6
Arkansas .....	.....	3	New Jersey .....	7	.....
Tennessee .....	.....	5	Pennsylvania .....	.....	7
Kentucky .....	.....	6	Illinois .....	5	.....
Ohio .....	7	.....	Iowa .....	2	.....
Missouri .....	5	.....	Minnesota .....	1	.....
			Total .....	55	84

The States whose delegates voted aye, are as follows: Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Illinois, Iowa—13 States; and Territory of Minnesota—14. The States whose delegates voted no, are as follows: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, California, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, New York, Pennsylvania—17 States; and the District of Columbia—18.

June 14.—When the convention reassembled on this day, 53 delegates seceded, as follows: From Ohio, 8—all. Indiana, 6—all. Illinois, 4—all, except one who does not appear after. Michigan, 2—all. Massachusetts, 7—all. New Hampshire, 3—all. Vermont, 5—all. Maine, 7—all. Iowa, 2—all. Rhode Island, 3—all. Connecticut, 3—all. Wisconsin, 3—all.

The above delegates assembled at the Girard House, Philadelphia, immediately after their secession, and issued an address to the people of the United States, urging the unconditional restoration of the Missouri prohibition and the maintenance of its positive guaranty until its object had been consummated by the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as free States.

In addition to the above, four delegates from Pennsylvania, constituting a majority of its representation in that convention, entered, with other delegates, their protest against the introduction of the question of slavery in its platform, and declared that they would not act with any organization that refused its sanction to the Missouri compromise act of 1820.

The platform adopted, as the above tables represent, was everywhere condemned and scouted by the party at the North. At a convention held in Cincinnati, the following resolution was adopted, seven States being represented.

"That the repeal of the Missouri compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the nation, and that it should be restored; and if efforts to that end should fail, Congress should refuse to admit into the Union any State tolerating slavery which shall be formed out of any portion of the Territory from which that institution was excluded by that compromise."

And in the great State of New York, at their State convention, they adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the national administration, by its general course of official conduct, together with an attempt to destroy the repose, harmony, and fraternal relations of the country in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the encouragement of aggressions upon the government of the Territorial inhabitants of Kansas, deserve and should receive the united condemnation of the American people, and that the institution of slavery should receive no extension from such repeal."

The 12th section thus rejected by the North reads as follows:

"The American party having arisen upon the ruins and in spite of the opposition of the Whig and Democratic parties, cannot be held responsible for the obnoxious acts or violated pledges of either. And the systematic agitation of the slavery question by these parties having elevated sectional hostility into a positive element of political power, and brought our institutions into peril, it has, therefore, become the imperative duty of the American party to interpose for the purpose of giving peace to the country and *perpetuity to the Union*. And as experience has shown it impossible to reconcile opinions so extreme as those which separate the putants, as there can be no dishonor in submitting to the laws, the national council deem it the best guarantee of common justice and of future peace to abide by and maintain the *existing* laws upon the subject of slavery as a final and conclusive settlement of that subject, in spirit and substance.

"And regarding it the highest duty to avow their opinions upon a subject so important, in



distinct and unequivocal terms, it is hereby declared, as the sense of this national council, that Congress possesses no power under the constitution to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the States where it does or may exist, or exclude any State from admission into the Union because its constitution does or does not recognise the institution of slavery as a part of its social system. And, expressly premitting any expression of opinion upon the power of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in any Territories, it is the opinion of the national council that Congress ought not to legislate upon the subject of slavery within the Territories of the United States, and that any interference by Congress with slavery as it exists in the District of Columbia would be a violation of the spirit and intention of the compact by which the State of Maryland ceded the District to the United States, and a breach of the national faith."

Such is the famous 12th section; that portion of their platform which pertained to slavery, and on the adoption of which, as I have already stated, most of the delegates from the northern States left the grand council. I am disposed to deal candidly and fairly with this platform, especially the 12th section. I did not regard it then, nor do I regard it now, as sound on the slavery question; but it does contain some guaranties for the protection of the South. The Know-nothing party in the South at least was satisfied with it. The people were told that it was sounder upon the slavery question than either the Democratic or Whig platforms, and they were invoked to the support of the Know-nothing candidates because they stood upon solid and impregnable southern ground. Upon this platform they went before the people in the southern States, and, although in most of them the battle was fought with a zeal and desperation almost unexampled in political conflicts in this country, they were defeated most signally and triumphantly in all of them but two—Kentucky and Maryland. What was then to be done, allied as they were with the Abolitionists at the North, and defeated at the South? The *American Organ*, published in this city, and recognized as the organ of the party, assumed the position that the slavery question must be ignored, and that differences of opinion in reference to it must be tolerated; and that the party must unite on what were termed American principles. This proposition was soon re-echoed from certain quarters in the South. Sir, it was an invitation to those who had repudiated the 12th section and withdrew to reunite with the party. On the 18th of February, the second grand council met in the city of Philadelphia. In accordance with the position taken by the *American Organ*, Mr. Brewster, Abolition Know-nothing, of Massachusetts, moved to strike out the 12th section. It was resisted by the South, but at last the North prevailed and the 12th section was stricken out.

Sir, let gentlemen attempt to disguise it as they will, the northern delegates were determined not to go into the Presidential election trammelled by the slavery question, and, in obedience to their stern and imperative demands, it was ignored by the platform.

Pending its consideration, Mr. Sheets, of Indiana, said:

"He was opposed to it, (the reconsideration,) as it would reopen the whole debate that the previous question was designed to cut off. He then proceeded to denounce the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but disavowed extreme free-soil sentiments. He appealed to the South to act with magnanimity, and not attempt to justify a repeal of a solemn compromise, and then say we desire no further agitation of the matter. It was like a man who should strike you a blow, and then retiring say, 'I desire no further agitation of this matter.' [Applause.]

"He would assure the South that the 12th section must be got rid of. He was willing to accept a compromise, but the section must be got rid of; he was willing to accept the Washington platform, for, if there was anything in it, it was so covered up with verbiage that a President would be elected before the people would find out what it was all about. [Tumultuous laughter.]

"Three southern States had been carried on the 12th section ; repeal it, and we will give you the entire North [Applause.] He appealed to the council to take off this trammel, that the great North and Northwest may march to triumph. Do this, and place on the ticket a good southern man, and most of the southern States will be carried with or without the 12th section."

The following is from the proceedings published at the time, as to striking out the 12th section, and adopting the new platform:

*National Council of Know-nothings at Philadelphia, February 20, 1855.*

"Whereas the twelfth section of the national platform, adopted in June, 1855, was neither proposed by the South nor sanctioned by the North—therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the aforesaid twelfth section be **STRICKEN OUT**; that on the subject of slavery we stand upon the principles and provisions of the constitution of the United States, yielding nothing more and claiming nothing less."

Amidst much confusion and excitement, this proposition was carried by the following vote :

*Yeas.*—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California, Arkansas, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa.

*Nays.*—Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, California, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and District of Columbia.

*Absent.*—Delaware, Virginia, New Jersey, and Louisiana.

*Carried.*—Yeas 109, nays 57.

Before the vote on striking out the twelfth section was taken, Rev. F. S. Evans, of the District of Columbia, offered, as a substitute for the Philadelphia platform of 1855, the following, which was by some called the Washington platform, because it emanated from Washington, and by others the verbiage platform, because it contains such a preponderance of words over ideas:

THE WASHINGTON PLATFORM.

1. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being who rules the universe for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these States.

2. The perpetuation of the federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

3. *Americans must rule America*; and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all State, federal, and municipal offices, or government employment, in preference to naturalized citizens; nevertheless,

4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognises any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognise the federal and State constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws as rules of political action.

6. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several States, and to this end non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the federal constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress: *Provided, always*, That none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8. An enforcement of the principle that no State or Territory ought to admit others than native-born citizens to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office, unless such person shall have been naturalized according to the laws of the United States.

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith or worship, and no test oaths for office, except those indicated in the fifth section of this platform.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in reopening sectional agitation by the repeal of the Missouri compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right to suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the removal of Judge Bronson from the collectorship of New York upon false and untenable grounds; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated, eschewing all sectional questions, and uniting upon those purely national, and admitting into said party all American citizens (referred to in the 3d, 4th, and 5th sections) who openly avow the principles and opinions heretofore expressed, and who will subscribe their names to this platform: *Provided, nevertheless*, That a majority of those members present at any meeting of a local council where an applicant applies for membership in the American party may, for any reason by them deemed sufficient, deny admission to such applicant.

15. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

When order was restored, the president announced the result as follows:

States.	Ayes.	Noes.	States.	Ayes.	Noes.
New Hampshire .....	1	1	California .....	2	-----
Massachusetts .....	5	8	Arkansas .....	1	1
Connecticut .....	-----	6	Tennessee .....	10	3
Rhode Island .....	2	2	Kentucky .....	8	5
New York .....	32	1	Ohio .....	4	19
Delaware .....	2	-----	Indiana .....	2	1
Maryland .....	4	3	Missouri .....	3	1
Virginia .....	3	5	Michigan .....	1	-----
North Carolina .....	1	1	Wisconsin .....	4	-----
Florida .....	1	-----	District of Columbia .....	2	-----
New Jersey .....	4	-----	Illinois .....	2	1
Pennsylvania .....	13	14	Iowa .....	-----	1
Louisiana .....	1	3			
			Total .....	108	77

Now, sir, what was the platform adopted in lieu of the one rejected? The word slavery cannot be found in it. Instead of the 12th section, we have the 7th, as above.

Mr. WHITNEY, (interrupting.) I ask the gentleman from Mississippi if he considers the constitution of the United States as sound on the slavery question?

Mr. BARKSDALE. Certainly I do, sir.

Mr. WHITNEY. Then I would ask the gentleman if he can find the word slavery in the constitution of the United States?

Mr. BARKSDALE. I find a synonymous term—"persons held to service;" but there is no such language in your platform, or anything like it. Now, sir, mark the language of this section. Under it Congress can pass the Wilmot proviso, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, interdict the slave-trade between the States, modify or repeal the fugitive-slave law. It would be no violation of this section,

if Congress were to refuse to admit Kansas into the Union, if she were to apply with a pro-slavery constitution. The proviso is, that "none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or the enactment of laws for said Territory or State." By the bill organizing Territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska, unnaturalized foreigners, who have declared their purpose to become citizens, are allowed to vote. Upon this pretext, the application of Kansas might be rejected. And, sir, in my opinion, this language was adopted to pander to the free-soil section of the party at the North.

Mr. TRAFTON, (interrupting.) I desire to ask the gentleman from Mississippi one question. I understand him to say that Congress can do anything in regard to slavery. Does he mean to be understood that Congress can legislate in reference to slavery in the old slaveholding States?

Mr. BARKSDALE. The gentleman did not hear my remark, or he would not have asked me that question. I said no such thing. I was speaking of the powers yielded, tacitly, at least, to Congress, under the Know-nothing platform. I deny the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery anywhere, except to protect it. That is my position.

Gentlemen tell us, however, that this platform is not binding upon them; that the Grand Council had no right to strike out the 12th section, and adopt a new platform. By the constitution of the organization, the National Grand Council wields its whole political power. In the express language of that constitution, it has the power to determine all questions of national policy, and from its decision there is no appeal. And it not only has this power, but also has the power to punish for disobedience of its edicts. That the convention which nominated Mr. Fillmore for President regarded the action of the National Grand Council as binding, is evidenced by the fact that a resolution denying the powers they assumed was voted down by a majority of near two-thirds.

The nominating convention assembled on the 22d February. The same scenes of disorder and violence which characterized the Grand Council, were re-enacted. The delegates from Pennsylvania, headed by Hon. JOHN R. EDIE, a member of this House, and who had voted for Mr. BANKS for Speaker, were admitted to seats in the convention. The vote was 88 to 45—two to one for the admission of these free-soil delegates, all of whom had repudiated the 12th section. At length, however, Millard Fillmore was nominated for President, and Andrew J. Donelson for Vice President of the United States, when many of the norther delegates withdrew.

The political history of Mr. Fillmore is well known to the country. He was first borne into political life by the anti-freemasonry excitement which prevailed in New York at that time. He was opposed to *all* secret societies then, even such as were not connected with politics. Now, he stands before the American people as the candidate of a *secret, political* organization, for the first office within their gift.

The following letter, addressed to a friend in Erie, in 1838, will show what his opinions, in relation to the power of Congress over slavery, were at that time :

BUFFALO, October 17, 1838.

SIR: Your communication of the 15th instant, as chairman of a committee appointed by "the Anti-slavery Society of the County of Erie," has just come to hand. You solicit my answer to the following interrogatories :

1st. Do you believe that petitions on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade ought to be received and respectfully considered by the representatives of the people?

2d. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas, under any circumstances, as long as slaves are held therein?

3d. Are you in favor of Congress exercising all the constitutional power it possesses to abolish the internal slave-trade between the States?

4th. Are you in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

I am much engaged, and have no time to enter into an argument, or to explain at length my reasons for my opinion. I shall therefore content myself, for the present, by answering ALL your interrogatories in the AFFIRMATIVE, and to leave to some future occasion a more extended discussion on the subject.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

W. MILLS, Esq.

After the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, he yielded his position with regard to the power of Congress to interfere with the slave trade between the States. On the 11th of December, Mr. Atherton, of New Hampshire, offered his celebrated resolutions, defining, in unequivocal terms, the power of Congress over the institution of slavery. I will not consume time in analyzing these resolutions and the votes upon them. Mr. Bynum, of North Carolina, in vindicating them, used the following language: "I pray every southern man to examine these resolutions: read them over and over again, one by one, and say if they were not sufficiently strong to secure every southern interest, while they particularly forbear to encroach on the rights of any other portion of the Union." These are the resolutions:

*Resolved*, That this government is a government of limited powers, and that, by the constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of the confederacy.

*Resolved*, That petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several States, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their limits.

*Resolved*, That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, as a means, and with the view, of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States, is against the true spirit and meaning of the constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith upon which they entered into the confederacy.

*Resolved*, That the constitution rests on the broad principle of equality among the members of this confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promoting the other.

*Resolved therefore*, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the constitution, destructive of the fundamental principle on which the Union of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred.

On these resolutions Mr. Fillmore voted side by side with such abolitionists as John Quincy Adams, Giddings, and Slade.

On the 13th of December, Mr. Wise asked leave to offer his resolutions, which he declared embodied the sentiments of the South. Mr. Fillmore voted against a suspension of the rules, that they might be considered. The resolutions of Mr. Wise are:

1. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories of the United States; *whether such power in the said District or Territories be exercised "as a means, or with the view, of disturbing and overthrowing slavery in the States" or not.*

2. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to abolish the slave trade, or prohibit the removal of slaves between the States, or between the States and the District of Columbia or Territories of the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That Congress cannot receive or consider petitions for the exercise of any powers whatever over the subject of slavery which Congress does not possess.

4. *Resolved*, That the laws of Congress alone govern in prescribing and regulating the mode and manner in which fugitive slaves shall be apprehended, and their rights to freedom held in the non-slaveholding States, District of Columbia and Territories; and the mode and manner in which they shall be restored or delivered to their owners in the slave States.

5. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to impose upon any State the abolition of slavery in its limits, as a condition of admission into this Union.

6. *Resolved*, That the citizens of the slaveholding States of the Union have the constitutional right voluntarily to take their slaves to or through a non-slaveholding State, and to sojourn or remain temporarily with such slaves in the same, and the slaves are not thereby *ipso facto* emancipated; and the general government is constitutionally bound to protect the rights of slaveholding States; and that laws of non-slaveholding States in conflict with the laws of Congress providing for such protection, are null and void.

On the same day, Mr. Slade asked leave to submit the following resolution:

Whereas there exists, and is carried on between the ports in the District of Columbia and other ports of the United States, and under the sanction of the laws thereof, a trade in human beings, whereby thousands of them are annually sold and transported from said District to distant parts of the country, in vessels belonging to citizens of the United States; and whereas such trade involves an outrageous violation of human rights, is a disgrace to the country by whose laws it is sanctioned, and calls for the immediate interposition of legislative authority for its suppression: therefore, to the end that all obstacles to the consideration of this subject may be removed, and a remedy for the evil speedily provided,

*Resolved*, That so much of the fifth of the resolutions on the subject of slavery, passed by this House on the 11th and 12th of the present month, as relates to the "removal of slaves from State to State," and prohibits the action of this House on "every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching" the same, be, and hereby is rescinded.

Mr. Fillmore voted with the abolitionists to suspend the rules, that they might be submitted.

On the 31st December, 1839, first session 26th Congress, Mr. Coles moved a suspension of the rules for the purpose of offering the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or papers, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the abolition of slavery in the States of this Union, or either of them, or in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories of the United States, or either of them, or the removal of slaves from one State to another, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table without being debated, printed or referred.

Mr. Fillmore voted against suspending the rules.

On the 7th of January, 1842, Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, presented a memorial from Ashtabula county, in his district, praying Congress to repeal the laws sanctioning the transportation of persons as slaves in any vessels of the United States, sailing coastwise from one State to another, and to pass laws establishing their freedom. The reception of the memorial was resisted by Mr. Wise, Mr. Wm. Cost Johnson, of Maryland, and Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, who moved to lay the question of receiving the petition, which carried the petition with it, on the table: Mr. Fillmore voting in the negative.

At that time Mr. Fillmore could have wielded an influence which might have been potent for good. Admitting all his friends now claim for him, pandering then to sectionalism and abolitionism, he aided in raising a storm which he afterwards could not control. When he was nominated for the vice-presidency it was not pretended, even, that he was sound on the slavery question, and he was supported by his party in the South merely because he was the nominee for the second office on the ticket with General Taylor.

Mr. Fillmore succeeded to the presidency at an extraordinary period in our history. The country was then rent with civil commotion and sectional strife, and if he had intended to conduct the government upon high national principles and "calm the troubled waters" he would have selected as his constitutional advisers men of enlarged patriotism and tested devotion to the constitution: instead of doing so, all his appointments in the North, and every member of his cabinet taken from a northern State, had advocated the exclusion of slavery from every foot of our national domain. At the head of it was Mr. Webster, who, in a speech in the Senate on Mr. Clay's resolutions, avowed himself in favor of the Wilmot proviso, and declared that he was ready at any moment to vote for it, whenever it was necessary to exclude the South from our common territory. I call your attention to an extract, which I will read, from his speech:

"For myself, I will say, that we hear much of the annexation of Canada; and if there be any man of the northern democracy, or any one of the northern Free-soil party, who supposed it necessary to insert a Wilmot proviso on a Territorial government for New Mexico, that man will of course be of opinion that it will be necessary to protect the everlasting snows of Canada from the foot of slavery by the overspreading wing of an act of Congress. Sir, whenever there is a particle of good to be done—whenever there is a foot of land to be saved from becoming slave territory, I am ready to assert the principle of the exclusion of slavery. I am pledged to it from the year 1837. I have been pledged to it again and again, and I will perform that pledge; but I will not do a thing unnecessarily that wounds the feelings of others, or that does disgrace my own understanding."

Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, another member of his cabinet, at the very time that General Taylor and General Scott were triumphantly and gloriously bearing our flag against a foreign foe and upon a foreign soil, where the bones of many of our gallant soldiers are now bleaching, uttered in the Senate the following infamous sentiment, that if he were a Mexican, he would "meet them with bloody hands, and welcome them to hospitable graves."

But gentlemen tell us that by signing the compromise measures Mr. Fillmore entitled himself to the confidence and support of the South. Sir, the South lost a splendid empire on the Pacific, and gained nothing by these compromise measures but the fugitive slave law, to which it is well known Mr. Fillmore was opposed, and was only induced to sign it after it had been pronounced constitutional by the Attorney General, Mr. Crittenden. I have before me a copy of the "Republic," which was the organ of his administration, vindicating him from the assaults of a Massachusetts abolitionist for approving it, for the reason I have stated, to which I call the attention of the committee:

#### "FUGITIVE LAW."

"While this bill was before the President for his signature, the question arose in his mind, which is presented by the resolution of the Boston meeting to which we have referred, 'Did the bill take away the benefit of the *habeas corpus*?' If it did, the President would have

been bound to return it to Congress with his objections. The President, consequently, referred the bill to the Attorney General for his opinion upon this point; and an elaborate and able opinion was given by that officer to the effect that 'there is nothing in the bill in question which conflicts with the Constitution, or suspends, or was intended to suspend, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*.'

"We do not know the views of the President in regard to the propriety or expediency of this law. The political school to which he belongs has always adhered to the doctrine that questions of legislative propriety and expediency belong to the representatives of the States, and the representatives of the people. It has been for years the staple of Whig complaint that the will of the people has been too often frustrated by a veto of the Executive; and the only question that could be entertained by the President, in view of his well settled and well known convictions of Executive duty in this regard, was in respect to the constitutionality of the provisions of the bill. He entertained a doubt upon the point which he submitted to the Attorney General, and that doubt was removed by the very conclusive opinion of Mr. Crittenden, to which we again refer our readers."

The paramount issue in this canvass is the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and the principles upon which it is based. It has been made by both the Know-nothing and Black Republican platforms, and the Democracy have boldly accepted it. Here is the Know-nothing platform:

"13th. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing 'Americans' (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations."

Mr. Fillmore, in his letter of acceptance, endorses this section, and has not hesitated to denounce the bill. In his Albany speech, he said:

"When I left the Presidential chair, the whole nation was prosperous and contented, and our relations with all foreign nations were of the most amicable kind. The cloud that hung upon the horizon was dissipated; but where are we now? Alas! threatened at home with civil war, and from abroad with a rupture of our peaceful relations. I shall not seek to trace the cause of this change. These are facts, and it is for you to ponder upon them. Of the present administration I have nothing to say, and can appreciate the difficulties of administering this government; and if the present executive and his supporters have, with good intention and honest hearts, made a mistake, I hope God may forgive them as I do. But if there be those who have brought these calamities upon the country for selfish or ambitious objects, it is your duty, fellow-citizens, to hold them to a strict responsibility. (Cheers.) The agitation which disturbed the peace of the country in 1850 was unavoidable. It was brought upon us by the acquisition of new territory, for the government of which it was necessary to provide territorial administration. But it is for you to say whether the present agitation which distracts the country and threatens us with civil war has not been recklessly and wantonly produced by the adoption of a measure to aid in personal advancement, rather than in any public good."

And at Rochester he was still more emphatic in his denunciation of the bill than at Albany. The following is an extract from his speech on that occasion:

"Those measures, usually called the Compromise measures of 1850, were not in all respects what I could have desired, but they were the best that could be obtained after a protracted discussion that shook the Republic to its very foundation, and I felt bound to give them my official approval. Not only this, but perceiving there was a disposition to renew the agitation at the next session, I took the responsibility of declaring, in substance, in my annual message, that I regarded these measures as a 'final settlement of this question, and that the laws thus passed ought to be maintained, until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of modification or repeal.' I then thought this exciting subject was at an end, and that there would be no farther occasion to introduce it into the legislation of Congress. Territorial governments had been provided for all the territory except that covered by the Missouri Compromise, and I had no suspicion that that was to be disturbed. I have no hesitation in saying, what most of you



know already, that I was **DECIDEDLY OPPOSED** to the disturbance of the Compromise. Good faith, as well as the peace of the country, seemed to require that a compromise which had stood for more than thirty years should not be wantonly disturbed. These were my sentiments then, fully and freely expressed, verbally and in writing, to all my friends, North and South, who solicited my opinion. This repeal seems to have been a Pandora's box, out of which have issued all the political evils that now afflict the country, scarcely leaving a hope behind, and many, I perceive, are ready to attribute all this to our southern brethren. But is this just? [No, no.] It must be borne in mind that this measure originated with a northern Senator, and was sustained and sanctioned by a northern President."

I pass over, for want of time, Mr. Fillmore's opposition to the acquisition of Cuba, his proclamation denouncing the gallant Crittenden and his men as robbers and plunderers, and permitting them to be shot down, without a trial, in violation of our solemn treaty stipulations with Spain; his arrest of my distinguished colleague General Quitman, when he was the chief magistrate of the sovereign State of Mississippi, upon an unfounded and frivolous charge; his pardon of Drayton and Sayres, convicted of kidnapping slaves out of this District; all of which indicate his fixed and determined hostility to the South.

Sir, Mr. Fillmore's record proves that he believed petitions to Congress on the subject of slavery and the slave trade ought to be received and considered; that he was opposed to the admission of Texas as a slave State; that he was in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; that Congress has the right to do that indirectly, which it cannot do directly; that Congress has the power, and ought to exercise it, to exclude slave property from the Territories; that he believed that slaves passing coastwise in vessels from one State to another ought to be made free; that he pardoned convicted kidnappers; that he was opposed to the acquisition of Cuba; and that he signed the fugitive-slave law, not because it commanded the approbation of his judgment and he believed it to be right, but because his Attorney General had declared it constitutional; and that he appointed Free-soilers and Abolitionists to office. Sir, I will not pursue this subject further. Mr. Fillmore stood with the enemies of the South during his whole public career, and when he is claimed by his southern friends as true to the South, his votes in Congress, and his Executive acts, rise up as a cloud of witnesses to condemn him.

But, sir, suppose Mr. Fillmore could be safely intrusted with the government in a crisis like this; what prospect has he of an election? In many of the northern States electoral tickets for him will not even be run, and the indications now are, that there is not the slightest probability of his succeeding in one of them. In the South, his most sanguine friends claim for him Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Louisiana. If he should succeed in all of them, he would then have but 48 electoral votes, not enough by 101 to secure his election. But the election might possibly be thrown into the House of Representatives; and are the people of the South prepared for the terrible struggle that must then ensue? Are they prepared for the tempest which would then break upon the country? Sir, a classification of the House will show that neither Mr. Fillmore nor Mr. Buchanan could be elected, and that there is a mere possibility of the defeat of Mr. Fremont. The contest, therefore, for

the decision of the people is properly between Buchanan and Fremont. Which does the South prefer?

I propose now, Mr. Chairman, to consider for a moment the Black Republican party. To show its unhallowed purposes, I give below its platform, together with extracts from the speeches of some of its most distinguished champions:

"That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

"This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do resolve:

"That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

"That, with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction.

"That, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein.

"That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained.

"That the constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

"That, while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people 'in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty,' and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them;

"Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force;

"Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed, test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

"The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated

"They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law;

"That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

"The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

"Murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

"That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign that administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter;

"That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the

rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory :

"That the highwayman's plea, that might makes right, imbodyed in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction :

"That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central, practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad :

"That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens."

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio :

"I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South ; when the black man armed with British bayonets, and led on by British officers, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master ; when the torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South, and blot out the last vestige of slavery. And though I may not mock at their calamity, and laugh when their fear cometh, yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium."

Senator Wade, of Ohio :

"Thought there was but one issue before the people, and that was the question of American slavery. He said the Whig party is not only dead, but stinks. It shows signs occasionally of convulsive spasms, as is sometimes exhibited in the dead snake's tail, after the head and body have been buried.

"There is really no union now between the North and the South, and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other than these two nations of the republic. The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in divesting it entirely from the taint of slavery."

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts :

"Every generous impulse of the human heart is with us--every affection of the human conscience is with us ; the great hopes of the human race are all with us, and we shall triumph in the end ; we shall overthrow the slave power of the republic ; we shall enthrone freedom : shall abolish slavery in the Territories ; we shall sever the national government from all responsibility for slavery, and all connexion with it ; and then, gentlemen, then, when we have put the nation, in the words of Mr. Van Buren, openly, actually, and perpetually on the side of freedom, we shall have glorious allies in the South. We shall have men like Cassius M. Clay. [Loud applause.] We shall have generous, brave, gallant men rise upon the South, who will, in their own time, in their own way, for the interest of the master and bond man, lay the foundations of a policy of emancipation that shall give freedom to three and a half millions of men in America. [Enthusiastic applause.] I say, gentlemen, these are our objects and these are our purposes."

In the convention which adopted the platform, no southern State was legitimately represented. It was a gathering of the enemies of the South, of those who have no other inscription upon their banner than war upon the South and southern institutions. Sir, who is the candidate this party for the Presidency ? John C. Fremont ; who, we are told, is a southern man by birth and education. He may have been born and reared under a southern sky. I do not know, nor do I care, where he was born. But if he was, however, he is a traitor to the land of his birth and the home of his childhood. What claim has he upon the country ? What experience has he in political affairs, and what qualifications for the high position he is seeking ? He is a senator who has made no record, and a general who has fought no battle and achieved no victory. But, suppose Mr. Fremont should be elected President of the United States ; what would be the first acts of his administration ? His cabinet would be selected from the North ; and if that would not be a violation of the letter, it would be of the spirit, of the constitution. His foreign ministers would be selected from that class of the northern people who would prejudice in foreign governments the institutions of

the South. All the officers of the government would be selected from the northern States.

Mr. STANTON, (interrupting.) I would like to ask the gentleman, upon what authority he asserts that Mr. Fremont would select his officers exclusively from the North?

Mr. BARKSDALE. Because, sir, no southern man, in my opinion, would dishonor himself by accepting office from him. [Great applause in the galleries.]

Mr. STANTON. They have not been in the habit of refusing office, so far as my observation and experience have gone.

Mr. BARKSDALE. They have never been tendered office by a Black Republican administration, and never will be; let the gentleman from Ohio mark that, sir.

Now, sir, as to the measures of this party, in the event of its success.

First. Kansas will be hurried in the Union under the Topeka constitution, in violation of law and every principle of right and justice; next the Wilmot proviso will be adopted, and thus slavery put under the ban of the government; it will be abolished in the District of Columbia; the slave trade between the States interdicted; slavery excluded from the dock-yards and arsenals, and everywhere else where the government has jurisdiction. These, sir, are the measures of the Black Republican party. They are not all included in the platform, I know; but should it succeed and the Union survives, they will be fastened upon the country. Sir, I make no threats; but I tell the gentlemen on the other side of this House, plainly, as it is my solemn duty to do, as the representative of a hundred thousand freemen upon this floor, that we submit to no further aggressions upon us, "there is a point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue," and that for the future "we tread no steps backwards." We are done, gentlemen, with compromises. All that have been made you forced upon us; and while we have observed them in good faith, you have shamelessly disregarded and trampled them under foot. I hold up before you the constitution as it came from the hands of its immortal authors, northern and southern men—itself a compromise; we claim our rights under that, and we intend to have them.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is another party in this contest, and that is the Democratic party. It had its origin more than half a century ago, when the alien and sedition laws were passed, during the federal administration of John Adams; and since that period, amid all the mutations of parties, it has ever been true to the rights and interests of every section of the confederacy. Its principles were promulgated by Mr. Jefferson, illustrated by Jackson and Polk, and are now making glorious the administration of our present enlightened and patriotic Chief Magistrate. It is now, and ever has been, a national party. When Texas applied for admission into the Union, fresh from her battle-fields, with her garments all stained with the blood of her sons, Mr. Fillmore and the northern Whigs turned their backs upon her; but the Democracy of the north and the south stretched forth their hands to welcome her, and she was added to the glorious sisterhood of American States. And, sir, how was the fugitive slave law passed? I point gentlemen to the record. In the Senate every northern Whig

voted against, and but three in the House voted for it. Here is the vote upon it:

SENATE.			
<i>Nays.</i>		<i>Yeas.</i>	
Democrats .....	3	Democrats .....	18
Whigs .....	8	Whigs .....	9
Free-soiler .....	1		—
	—		27
	12		12
		Majority .....	15

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.			
<i>Nays.</i>		<i>Yeas.</i>	
Northern whigs .....	57	Northern democrats .....	26
Northern democrats .....	15	Southern democrats .....	56
Freesoilers .....	4	Southern whigs .....	24
	—	Northern whigs .....	3
	76		—
			109
			76
		Majority .....	33

The vote upon the Nebraska bill shows that no northern Whig or Know-nothing, in either house of Congress, sustained it; and that it was triumphantly passed by the aid of northern Democratic votes. There were in the

SENATE.			
<i>Nays.</i>		<i>Yeas.</i>	
Northern whigs .....	4	Northern democrats .....	14
Southern whigs .....	2	Southern democrats .....	10
Northern democrats .....	4	Southern whigs .....	9
Free-soilers .....	3	Northern whigs .....	None.
	—		—
	13		33
			13
		Majority .....	20

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.			
<i>Nays.</i>		<i>Yeas.</i>	
Northern democrats .....	40	Northern democrats .....	44
Northern whigs .....	51	Southern democrats .....	56
Southern democrats .....	2	Southern whigs .....	13
Southern whigs .....	7	Northern whigs .....	None.
	—		—
	100		113
			100
		Majority .....	13

Sir, if any other proof were necessary to establish the nationality of the Democratic party, I have it in abundance before me. Here are resolutions endorsing unequivocally the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and denouncing the agitation of the slavery question. The spirit which animated those who passed these patriotic resolutions pervades the whole northern Democracy. Here are the resolutions:

## IOWA.

*Resolved*, That the Democratic party of Iowa will, in the language of the Baltimore platform of 1852, resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery

question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made: and we do hereby declare in the most emphatic terms our disapprobation of the course pursued by the Abolitionists and fusionists who have brought on such agitation by misrepresenting and misquoting the provisions of the Nebraska and Kansas act, and by the publication of false and libellous statements in regard to the action of Democrats, and who have prostituted the pulpit and the Sabbath for the advancement of their personal aims and the accomplishment of their selfish designs.

## OHIO.

"1. *Resolved*, That slavery is a domestic institution, and that Congress has neither the power to legislate it into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States.

"2. *Resolved*, That the right of the people of each particular State and Territory to establish their own constitution or form of government, to choose and regulate their own domestic institutions of every kind, and to legislate for themselves, is a fundamental principle of all free government, and that it is the selfsame right to secure which our ancestors waged the war of the Revolution—a right lying at the very foundation of all our free institutions, recognised in the Declaration of Independence, and established by the constitution of the United States; and we hereby enforce and reaffirm this now disputed principle.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

"*Resolved*, That in the repeal of the act known as the Missouri compromise act, and the passage of the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, free from unconstitutional restrictions, the last Congress performed a work of patriotic sacrifice in meeting the demands of sectional excitement by unshaken adherence to the fundamental law.

"*Resolved*, That this legislation need not be deemed unnecessary, but that it was expedient to meet the questions of which it disposed, and which could never admit of a more easy settlement than at present. That we recognise in it the application to the Territories of the United States of the rule of 'equal and exact justice to all men,' of all sections of the confederacy, which was designed by the framers of our government, and which was defined as one of its essential principles by the immortal Jefferson.

"*Resolved*, That the democracy of Pennsylvania, following the counsel of some of the wisest statesmen of the North and South, were ready on more than one occasion in the past to extend the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific, so as to make it the basis of a final settlement of the question of slavery in the Territories; but when this proposition was rejected, in 1848, on the ground that it involved an undue concession to the South, by the very men who now clamor for a restoration of the Missouri line, there seemed to be but one wise alternative left, and that was to refer the whole question of slavery in the Territories to the people thereof, to be regulated as they may deem proper; and we, therefore, cheerfully extend our hearty support to the policy of the government as recognised in the compromise measures of 1850, and embodied in the law organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska."

And here, sir, are the resolutions adopted by the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati, on the slavery question. In that convention every State in the Union was represented. It was composed of men of determined wills, and patriotic hearts, who felt the importance of the crisis, and were prepared to meet it. While each delegate had his preference as to men, there was no difference of opinion as to the question which so deeply and vitally affects the rights and the honor of the southern States. There were no majority or minority reports, but the resolutions met the unanimous approbation of the convention, and were adopted by a unanimous vote.

"And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the constitution and the Union—

"1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-operation of, all who regard the preservation of the Union under the constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the States and invite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American democracy recognise and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

"2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

"3. That by the uniform application of this democratic principle to the organization of Territories and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact; the original compact of the constitution maintained inviolate; and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

"Resolved, That we recognise the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and, whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

Standing upon the platform, then, in reference to the paramount issue involved in this election, the Democratic party presents before the country James Buchanan, the patriot and statesman, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, the brilliant orator of Kentucky, for Vice President of the United States. Mr. Buchanan came into public life forty years ago, and had been distinguished alike in the national councils, in the cabinet, and as the representative of his government at foreign courts. He opposed the administration of John Quincy Adams, and aided in defeating him and electing General Jackson to the Presidency, and was appointed by him minister to Russia. On speaking of General Jackson on one occasion, he said:

"I thank Heaven that in these days a military chieftain has arisen, whose name is familiar to the lips of even the humblest citizen of this country, because his services live in their hearts, who will be able, by the suffrages of the people, to wrest the power of this government from the hands of its present oppressors. \* \* \* I trust and believe that the people of the United States will elevate the citizen soldier to the supreme majesty of the Union."

He has ever opposed, with the power of his great ability, the encroachments of the Abolitionists upon the rights of the South. In 1854, in the Senate, in opposing the petition of a society of "Friends" for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he said:

"By granting the prayer of this memorial, as I observed on a former occasion, you would establish a magazine of gunpowder here, from which trains might be laid into the surrounding States, which would produce fearful explosions. In the very heart of the slaveholding States themselves you would erect an impregnable citadel, from whence the Abolitionists might securely spread over these States, by circulating their incendiary pamphlets and pictures, the seeds of disunion, insurrection, and servile war."

On the 21st day of December, in discussing the President's message in reference to the transmission of abolition documents through the mails, Mr. Buchanan declared that he "was confident the gentleman (Mr. Leigh) spoke the language of every man north of the slaveholding States, that they deprecated and would do everything in their power to suppress any publication calculated to endanger the peace or to injure the feelings of the South." When Arkansas applied for admission in the Union as a slave State, Mr. Buchanan warmly advocated her admission. He sustained Mr. Calhoun's resolutions with regard to the powers and duties of the federal government on the subject of slavery. He was the earnest advocate of the annexation of Texas, and, during the discussion of that subject in the Senate, he used the following language: "Whilst the annexation of Texas would afford that security to the southern and southwestern slave States which they have a right to demand, it would, in some respects, operate prejudi-

cially upon their immediate pecuniary interest: but to the middle and western, and more especially the South, it would, in my opinion, be a source of unmixed benefit. It would tend to their commerce, promote their manufactures, and increase their wealth. The New England States resist the acquisition of Louisiana; and I ask, how can they have been at this day without that Territory? The South, by the annexation of Texas with similar energy, although after it has been acquired, it is they who reap the chief pecuniary advantages from the acquisition." When the South was willing to settle the slavery question, in 1848, by extending the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific ocean, Mr. Buchanan advocated it; but when that was rejected by the North, and the compromise of 1850 was passed, he endorsed it. I give the following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Buchanan in November, 1850:



"1st. Agitation in the North on the subject of southern slavery must be rebuked and put down by a strong and enlightened public opinion."

"2d. The fugitive slave law must be enforced in its spirit."

"And what is the character of this law? It was passed to carry into execution a plain, clear, and mandatory provision of the Constitution, requiring that slaves who fly from services in one State to another shall be given up to their masters. The provision is so explicit that he who runs may read. No commentary can present it in a stronger light than the plain words of the Constitution."

He is in favor of the acquisition of Cuba, and endorses the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and will carry it out in the event of his election.

I have thus, Mr. Chairman, briefly and dispassionately endeavored to sketch a view of the approaching presidential contest—a contest, in my judgment, pregnant with the destinies of this Union.

Sir, Mr. Fremont is the candidate of a party which has but one purpose, and seeks to brand with inequality fifteen of the sovereign States of this Union. Mr. Fillmore is the representative of an oath-bound organization which strikes in the dark, and wars upon civil and religious liberty. Mr. Buchanan stands before the world without a blemish upon the escutcheon of his social life; and his long and illustrious political career shows that he is a statesman of enlarged and elevated principles, which, if carried out, will secure the rights of all, and promote the onward progress and permanent prosperity of the whole people of the Republic. I will not pause to refute the stale slanders which his enemies and the enemies of the country have heaped upon him. They have been again and again refuted, and he enters upon the contest with the broad shield of his patriotism emblazoned, *sans peur, sans reproche*. I, for one, am proud of the leader we have chosen; and I have every confidence that the banner which he bears in this great conflict, upon which is inscribed in gilded capitals, State Rights, State Sovereignty, State Remedies, and Civil and Religious Liberty, will proudly float in triumph. But if in this I am mistaken, if these eternal principles of representative liberty and human progress are to be repudiated, if that banner is to sink in defeat, with it the hopes of the country will go down forever.